

97-84232-5

Russian S.F.S.R.

The Soviet land law

Girard, Kansas

[1919?]

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viewed. Girard, Kansas [1919],62 p. 13^{cm}. (People's pocket series no. 5.
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The Soviet Land Law

Bullitt's Report to Wilson

Text of Russian Soviet Terms
Offered Allies

Efforts to Crush Soviet
Russia Reviewed

By Upton Sinclair

308

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Girard, Kansas

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The Soviet Land Law

[The following "Fundamental Law of Socialization of the Land" in Russia went into effect in September, 1918, replacing the earlier and briefer Land Decree of November 7, 1917.]

DIVISION I.

General Provisions.

Article 1. All property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources within the boundaries of the Russian Soviet Republic are abolished.

Article 2. The land passes over to the use of the entire laboring population without any compensation, open or secret, to the former owners.

Article 3. The right to use the land belongs to those who till it by their own labor, with the exception of special cases covered by this decree.

Article 4. The right to use the land cannot be limited by sex, religion, nationality, or foreign citizenship.

Article 5. The sub-surface deposits, the forests, waters, and fundamental

natural resources are at the disposition (according to their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviet powers and are under the control of the latter. The method of disposition and utilization of the sub-surface deposits, waters, and fundamental natural resources will be dealt with by a special decree.

Article 6. All private live stock and inventoried property of non-laboring homesteads pass over without indemnification to the disposition (in accordance with their character) of the land departments of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviets.

Article 7. All homestead constructions mentioned in Article 6, as well as all agricultural appurtenances, pass over to the disposition (in accordance with their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviets without indemnification.

Article 8. All persons who are unable to work and who will be deprived of all means of subsistence by force of the decree socializing all lands, forests, inventoried property, etc., may receive a pension (for a lifetime or until the person becomes of age), upon the certification of the local courts and

the land departments of the Soviet power, such as a soldier receives, until such time as the decree for the insurance of the incapacitated is issued.

Article 9. The apportionment of lands of agricultural value among the laboring people is under the jurisdiction of the Volostnoi [several villages], county, provincial, main, and Federal land departments of the Soviets in accordance with their character.

Article 10. The surplus lands are under the supervision, in every republic, of the land departments of the main and Federal Soviets.

Article 11. The land departments of the local and central Soviets are thus entrusted with the equitable apportionment of the land among the working agricultural population, and with the productive utilization of the natural resources. They also have the following duties:

(a) Creating favorable conditions for the development of the productive forces of the country by increasing the fertility of the land, improving agricultural technique, and, finally, raising the standard of agricultural knowledge among the laboring popu-

lation.

(b) Creating a surplus of lands of agricultural value.

(c) Developing various branches of agricultural industry, such as gardening, cattle-breeding, dairying, etc.

(d) Accelerating the transition from the old unproductive system of field cultivation to the new productive one (under various climates), by a proper distribution of the laboring population in various parts of the country.

(e) Developing collective homesteads in agriculture (in preference to individual homesteads) as the most profitable system of saving labor and material, with a view to passing on to Socialism.

Article 12. The apportionment of land among the laboring population is to be carried on on the basis of each one's ability to till it and in accordance with local conditions, so that the production and consumption standard may not compel some peasants to work beyond their strength; and at the same time it should give them sufficient means of subsistence.

Article 13. Personal labor is the general and fundamental source of the right to use the land for agricultural purposes. In addition, the or-

gans of the Soviet power, with a view to raising the agricultural standard (by organizing model farms or experiment fields), are permitted to borrow from the surplus land fund (formerly belonging to the Crown, monasteries, ministers, or landowners) certain plots and to work them by labor paid by the state. Such labor is subject to the general rules of workmen's control.

Article 14. All citizens engaged in agricultural work are to be insured at the expense of the state against old age, sickness, or injuries which incapacitate them.

Article 15. All incapacitated agriculturists and the members of their families who are unable to work are to be cared for by the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 16. Every agricultural homestead is to be insured against fire, epidemics among cattle, poor crops, dry weather, hail, etc., by means of mutual Soviet insurance.

Article 17. Surplus profits, obtained on account of the natural fertility of the land or on account of its location near markets, are to be turned over for the benefit of social needs to

the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 18. The trade in agricultural machinery and in seeds is monopolized by the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 19. The grain trade, internal as well as export, is to be a state monopoly.

DIVISION II.

Who Has the Right to Use Land.

Article 20. Plots of land may be used in the Russian Federated Soviet Republic for the following social and private needs:

A. Cultural and educational:

1. The state, in the form of the organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural).
2. Social organizations (under the control and by permission of the local Soviets).

B. For agricultural purposes:

3. Agricultural communities.
4. Agricultural associations.
5. Village organizations.
6. Individuals and families.

C. For construction purposes:

7. By the organs of the Soviet power.
 8. By social organizations, individuals, and families (if the construction is not a means of obtaining profits).
 9. By industrial, commercial, and transportation enterprises (by special permission and under the control of the Soviet power).
- ##### D. For constructing ways of communication:
10. By organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural, according to the importance of the ways of communication).

DIVISION III.

The Order in Which Land Is Apportioned

Article 21. Land is given to those who wish to work it themselves for the benefit of the community and not for personal advantage.

Article 22. The following is the order in which land is given for personal agricultural needs:

1. To local agriculturists who have no land or a small amount of land, and to local agricultural workers (formerly hired), on an equal basis.

2. Agricultural emigrants who have come to a given locality after the issuance of the decree of socialization of the land.

3. Non-agricultural elements in the order of their registration at the land departments of the local Soviets.

NOTE.—When arranging the order of the apportionment of land, preference is given to laboring agricultural associations over individual homesteads.

Article 23. For the purpose of gardening, fishing, cattle-breeding, or forestry, land is given on the following basis:

- (1) Land which cannot be tilled;
- (2) land which can be tilled, but which on account of its location is preferably to be used for other agricultural purposes.

Article 24. In rural districts, land is used for construction purposes in accordance with the decision of the local Soviets and the population.

In cities, land may be obtained in the order in which applications are filed with the respective local Soviets,

if the construction planned does not threaten to harm the neighboring buildings and if it answers all other requirements of the building regulations.

NOTE.—For the purpose of erecting social buildings, land is given regardless of the order in which applications are filed.

DIVISION IV.

The Standard of Agricultural Production and Consumption.

Article 25. The amount of land given to individual homesteads for agricultural purposes, with a view to obtaining means of subsistence, must not exceed the standard of agricultural production and consumption as determined on the basis indicated in the instruction given below.

Instruction for Determining the Production and Consumption Standard for Use of Land of Agricultural Value.

1. The whole of agricultural Russia is divided into as many climatic sections as there are field cultivation systems historically in existence at the given agricultural period.

2. For every agricultural section

a special production and consumption standard is set. Within the section the standard may be changed in accordance with the climate and the natural fertility of the land, also in accordance with its location (near a market or railway) and other conditions which are of great local importance.

3. For an exact determination of the standard of each section, it is necessary to take an all-Russian agricultural census in the near future.

NOTE.—After the socialization of the land has been accomplished, it is necessary to survey it immediately and to determine its topography.

4. The apportionment of land on the production and consumption basis among the agricultural population is to be carried on gradually in various agricultural sections, according to regulations stated herein.

NOTE.—Until the socialization of land is entirely accomplished, the relations of agriculturists will be regulated by the land departments of the Soviets in accordance with a special instruction.

5. For the determination of the production and consumption standard of a given climatic section, it is neces-

sary to take the standard (an average agricultural homestead) of one of the counties of that section (or another agricultural standard of equal size) with a small population, and with such a proportion of various agricultural advantages, as, in the opinion of the local inhabitants (regional or provincial congress of the land departments of the Soviets) will be recognized as the most normal, i. e., the most favorable for the type of field cultivation which predominates in that climatic section.

6. For the determination of what an average agricultural homestead is, it is necessary to take into consideration only those lands which were actually in the possession of working peasants down to 1917, i. e., lands bought by peasant organizations, associations, individuals, and entailed and rented lands.

7. Forests, sub-surface deposits, and waters are not to be considered in this determination.

8. Private lands which were never used for agricultural purposes, and which were actually in the possession of the state, private banks, monasteries, or landowners, will not be taken into consideration in this determina-

tion, as they will constitute the surplus land fund which will serve to supply the landless peasants and those who have less land than the peasants' production and consumption standard calls for.

9. For determining the entire amount of land which was in actual possession of the working peasants down to the revolution of 1917, it is necessary to determine its quantity according to its special character (field, pasture, meadow, drainage, gardens, orchards, estates).

10. This determination must be made in exact figures, as well as in the proportion of the entire quantity to each individual homestead, settlement, village, county, province, or region, or the entire climatic section of the given system of field cultivation.

11. When thus determining the entire quantity of land, it is necessary to determine the quality of each acre of a typical field or meadow by ascertaining the amount (in poods) of grain or hay yielded by an acre of land of the given section for the past ten years.

12. When determining the quantity and quality of land, it is necessary to determine at the same time

the entire population of the given climatic section engaged in agriculture, and also that part of the population which subsists at the expense of agriculture.

13. The census of the inhabitants engaged in agricultural work is to be taken by sex, age, and family for each homestead separately, and later the information obtained is to be classified by villages, counties, and provinces of the given section.

14. When taking the census of the population it is necessary to determine the number of workingmen and members dependent on them, and for that purpose the entire population is divided into the following classes according to ages:

Those Unable to Work.

Girlsto 12 years of age
Boysto 12 years of age
Menfrom 60 years of age
Womenfrom 50 years of age

Those incapacitated by physical or mental illness are recorded separately.

Those Able to Work.

Men from 18 to 60—1.0 unit of working strength.

Women from 18 to 50—0.8 unit of working strength.

Boys from 12 to 16—0.5 unit of working strength.

Girls from 12 to 16—0.5 unit of working strength.

Girls from 16 to 18—0.6 unit of working strength.

NOTE.—These figures may be changed in accordance with climatic and customary conditions by decision of the appropriate organs of the Soviet power.

15. By dividing the number of acres by the number of working units, the number of acres to each unit may be obtained.

16. The number of incapacitated members to each working unit may be obtained by dividing the entire incapacitated element by the total of working units.

17. It is also necessary to describe and figure out the number of work animals and cattle that can be fed on one acre of land and with one working unit.

18. For determining what an average landowning peasant is in a county, it is necessary to ascertain the average acre in quality and fertility. This average is the sum of crops from various soils divided by the number of the soil categories [Paragraph 9].

19. The average obtained as above is to serve as a basis for determining the production and consumption stand-

ard by which all the homesteads will be equalized from the surplus land fund.

NOTE.—In case the average, as indicated above, obtained after preliminary calculations, proves insufficient for existence (see Division 1, Article 12), it may be increased from the surplus land fund.

20. For determining the amount of land needed for additional distribution among peasants, it is necessary to multiply the number of acres of land to each working unit in a county by the sum of agricultural working units of the given climatic section, and to subtract from the product the amount of land which the working population have on hand.

21. Further, upon ascertaining the number of acres of land (in figures and percentage according to character) which the surplus land fund has, and comparing this figure with the quantity of land necessary for additional distribution among peasants who have not sufficient land, the following is to be determined: is it possible to confine the emigration within the boundaries of the given climatic section? If so, it is necessary to determine the size of the surplus land fund and its capacity. If it is not pos-

sible to confine it within the given climatic section, ascertain how many families will have to emigrate to another section.

NOTE.—The main land departments of the Soviet power must be informed of the quantity of surplus land, as well as of a lack of the same; and the location, amount, and kind of unoccupied lands must be indicated.

22. When additional distribution takes place, it is necessary to know the exact amount and quality of land which the peasants have, the number of cattle on hand, the number of members of the families, etc.

23. When additional distribution takes place in accordance with the production and consumption standard, this standard must be raised in the following cases:

(1) When the working strength of a family is overtaxed by the number of incapacitated members; (2) when the land which the family has on hand is not sufficiently fertile; (3) in accordance with the quality of such land of the surplus fund as is given to the peasant (the same applies to meadows).

25. When an additional appointment of land takes place and the given

district lacks certain advantages, the peasant gets a certain amount of land possessing other advantages.

DIVISION V.

Standard for the Utilization of Land for Construction, Agricultural, and Educational Purposes, etc.

Article 26. When land is apportioned for educational and industrial purposes and also for the erection of dwellings, for cattle breeding, and other agricultural needs (with the exception of field cultivation), the quantity of land to be apportioned shall be determined by the local Soviets in accordance with the needs of the individuals or organizations which ask permission to use the land.

DIVISION VI.

Emigration.

Article 27. In case the surplus land fund in the given section proves to be insufficient for additional distribution among peasants, the surplus of the population may be transferred to another section where there is sufficient surplus land.

Article 28. Transfer from one sec-

tion to another is to take place only after the peasants of the latter section are all distributed.

Article 29. The emigration from one section to another, as well as the distribution of the inhabitants within the section, must be carried on as follows: at first those who are furthest away from the surplus land fund are to emigrate, so that:

(a) the land of the surplus fund is used first of all by the peasants of that village or hamlet in the vicinity of which the surplus land fund lies.

NOTE.—If there are several such villages, preference is given to those that tilled the land before.

(b) the second place is given to the peasants of the Volost within the boundaries of which the surplus land lies.

(c) the third place is given to the peasants of the county within the boundaries of which the surplus lands lie.

(d) finally, if the given system of field cultivation covers several provinces, the peasants of the province within the boundaries of which the surplus land lies receive additional land.

Article 30. The emigration accordingly runs in the following order: (a) volunteers are the first to emigrate; (b) second, those organizations which suffer most from lack of land; (c) agricultural associations, communities, large families, and small families which have small amounts of land.

Article 31. The apportionment of land among agriculturists who have to emigrate is to be carried on as follows: in the first place, small families suffering from lack of land; second, large families suffering from lack of land; third, families suffering from lack of land; fourth, agricultural associations, and, finally, communities.

Article 32. The transfer of peasants from one section to another is to be done with consideration, so that the new place shall give the peasant a chance to cultivate land successfully and the climatic conditions shall be analogous to those of his previous domicile. In that case it is necessary to take into consideration the customs and nationality of the emigrants.

Article 33. The cost of transferring peasants to new places is to be provided by the state.

Article 34. In connection with the

transfer, the state is to help the peasants in the building of homes, roads, drains, and wells, in obtaining agricultural machinery and artificial fertilizers, by creating artificial water systems (when necessary) and by erecting educational centers.

NOTE.—For the purpose of expediting the establishment of agricultural work on a socialistic basis, the state offers to extend to the emigrants every aid necessary for a systematic and scientific management of collective homesteads.

DIVISION VII.

Form of Utilization of Land.

Article 35. The Russian Federated Soviet Republic, for the purpose of attaining Socialism, offers to extend aid (cultural and material) to the general tilling of land, giving preference to the communistic and cooperative homesteads over individual ones.

Article 36. Lands of cooperative and individual homesteads must, if possible, be in the same location.

DIVISION VIII.

Obtaining Rights to the Use of Land.

Article 37. Land may be obtained:

- (a) For educational purposes.

1. Social usefulness.
- (b) For agricultural purposes.
 1. Personal labor.
- (c) For building purposes.
 1. Social buildings.
 2. Dwellings.
 3. The necessity of conducting a working homestead.
- (d) For the purpose of constructing ways of communication.
 1. Public necessity.

DIVISION IX.

The Order in Which the Right to Use the Land May Be Obtained.

Article 38. An application must be filed with the land department of the Soviet power in whose jurisdiction the desired land lies.

Article 39. The application shows the order in which the permission to use the land is granted. The permission is granted on the basis of the general provisions of this decree.

NOTE.—The application should contain the following information, in addition to the full name and address of the person who desires to use the land: former occupation, the purpose for which land is desired, the inventory on hand,

the location of the desired plot and its size.

NOTE.—If the land department of the Volostnoi Soviet refuses to grant the permission to use land, the question may be brought (within one week) to the notice of the department of the county Soviet; if the county Soviet refuses, it may be presented to the land department of the provincial Soviet within two weeks.

NOTE.—The right to use land (sub-surface deposits, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources) cannot be obtained under any circumstances through purchase, rental, inheritance, or any other private transaction.

DIVISION X.

Article 40. The right to use the land becomes effective in the following order.

Article 41. The right to use land for construction purposes becomes effective upon actual occupation of the plot or upon preparations for its occupation, but not later than three months after the receipt of permission from the local Soviet.

NOTE.—By actual preparations is meant the delivery of building materials to the place of destination or the closing of a contract with workers.

Article 42. The right to use land for agricultural purposes (on the basis of personal labor) becomes effective upon beginning the work at the opening of the next agricultural season.

Article 43. The right to use the land for field cultivation becomes effective upon the actual beginning of field work (without hired help) at the opening of the agricultural season next after the receipt of a permit from the local Soviet.

NOTE.—Buildings may be erected on plots of land that may be tilled only by special permission of the land department of the Soviet government.

Article 44. In case of actual inability to use the plot in the period of time allowed by the land department, the latter may extend this period if there is valid cause, i. e., the illness of the working hands, trouble brought about by epidemics, etc.

DIVISION XI.

Transfer of Rights to Use Given Plots of Land.

Article 45. The right to use the land is not transferable.

Article 46. The right to use land may be obtained by anyone on the

basis of this decree, and it cannot be transferred from one person to another.

DIVISION XII.

Temporary Cancellation of the Right to Use the Land.

Article 47. Any land-borrower's right to use the plot of land may be stopped for a certain length of time, without cancelling it entirely.

Article 48. Any land-borrower may cease utilizing the land at a certain time and still have the right to it (a) if natural calamities (floods, etc.), deprive him of the possibility; (b) if the agriculturist is temporarily ill; (c) if the agriculturist is called to do some government duty; or for other cause valid from the social point of view. He may hold it until such time as conditions are favorable for the utilization of his plot.

NOTE.—The period of such temporary cessation is to be determined in each case by the land department of the local Soviet.

Article 49. Upon every temporary cessation of the use of the land (as indicated in Article 48), the local Soviet either organizes community help

to the agriculturist or calls upon the workers, paid by the state and subject to the general regulations of workers' control, to do the work of the afflicted agriculturist (temporary incapacity, death, etc.), so as to save his property and proceed with production.

DIVISION XIII.

Cessation of the Right to Use the Land.

Article 50. The right to use the land may cease for an entire agricultural unit, or for individual members of the same.

Article 51. The right of the given individual to use the land may cease for the whole plot or for a part of it.

Article 52. The right is cancelled (a) if the organization, or the purpose for which it had taken land, is declared void; (b) if units, associations, communities, etc., disintegrate; (c) if the individual finds it impossible to cultivate the field or do other agricultural work, and if at the same time the individual has other means of subsistence (for instance, a pension paid to the incapacitated); (d) upon the death of the individual, or when his civil rights are cancelled by the court.

Article 53. The right to use a plot of land ceases:

(a) in case of a formal refusal to use the plot.

(b) in case of obvious unwillingness to use the plot, although no formal refusal has been filed.

(c) in case the land is used for illegal purposes (e. g., throwing garbage).

(d) in case the land is exploited by illegal means (e. g., hiring land secretly).

(e) in case the use of the land by a given individual brings injury to his neighbor (e. g., manufacture of chemicals).

NOTE.—The land-borrower, upon cessation of his right to the use of the land, has the right to demand from the respective land departments of the Soviets a fee for the unused improvements and labor invested in the land, if the given plot did not bring him sufficient profit.

Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: Sverdloff.

Members of the Executive Body:
Spiridonova, Mouranoff, Zinoveiff.
Oustinoff, Kamkoff, Lander, Skouloff,
Volodarsky, Peterson, Natanson-Broff.

Secretaries of the Central Executive Committees: Avanessoff, Smoliansky.

Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaries: V. Oulianoff (Lenin).

People's Commissar of Agriculture:
A. Kolegueff.

Bullitt's Report to Wilson

[Following is the text of William C. Bullitt's formal report on conditions in Russia, which he says was suppressed by President Wilson:]

Russia today is in a condition of acute economic distress. The blockade by land and sea is the cause of this distress, and lack of the essentials of transportation is its gravest symptom.

Only one-fourth of the locomotives which ran on Russian lines before the war are now available for use. Furthermore, Soviet Russia is cut off entirely from all supplies of coal and gasoline. In consequence, transportation by all steam and electric vehicles is greatly hampered; and transportation by automobile and by the fleet of gasoline-using Volga steamers and canal boats is impossible.

As a result of these hindrances to transportation, it is possible to bring from the grain centers to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day instead of the 100 carloads which are essential, and to Petrograd only fifteen carloads, instead of the essential fifty. In consequence every man, woman and child in Moscow and Pe-

trograd is suffering from slow starvation.

Babies Are Sacrificed.

Mortality is particularly high among new-born children, whose mothers can't suckle them; among newly-delivered mothers, and among the aged. The entire population, in addition, is exceptionally susceptible to disease; and a slight illness is apt to result fatally because of the total lack of medicines. Typhoid, typhus and smallpox are epidemics in both Petrograd and Moscow.

Industry, except the production of munitions of war, is largely at a standstill. Nearly all means of transport, which are not employed in carrying food, are used to supply the army, and there is scarcely any surplus transport to carry materials essential to normal industry.

Furthermore, the army has absorbed the best executive brains and physical vigor of the nation. In addition, Soviet Russia is cut off from most of its resources of iron. Only the flax, hemp, wood and lumber industries have an adequate supply of raw material.

On the other hand, such essentials

of economic life as are available are being utilized to the utmost by the Soviet government. Such trains as there are run on time. The distribution of food is well controlled. Many industrial experts of the old regime are again managing their plants and sabotage by such managers has ceased. Loafing by the workmen during work hours has been overcome.

The destructive phase of the revolution is over and all the energy of the government is turned to constructive work.

The terror has ceased. All power of judgment has been taken away from the extraordinary commission for suppression of the counter-revolution, which now merely accuses suspected counter-revolutionaries who are tried by the regularly established legal tribunals.

Executions are extremely rare. Good order has been established. The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased.

There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight. Family life has been unchanged by the revolution—the canard in regard to “nationalization of women” notwithstanding.

The theaters, opera and ballet are

performing as in peace. Thousands of new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia and the Soviet government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than czarism did in fifty years.

Soviet Well Established.

The Soviet form of government is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people, despite their starvation. Indeed, the people lay the blame for their distress wholly on the blockade and the governments which maintain it. The Soviet form of government seems to have become to the Russian people the symbol of their revolution.

Unquestionably it is a form of government which lends itself to gross abuse and tyranny, but it meets the needs of the moment in Russia and it has acquired so great a hold on the imagination of the common people that the women are ready to starve and the young men to die for it.

The position of the Communist party (formerly Bolsheviks) is also very strong. Blockade and interven-

tion have caused the chief opposition parties—the Right Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks—to give temporary support to the Communists. These opposition parties have both made formal statements against the blockade, intervention and the support of anti-Soviet governments by the Allied and Associated governments. Their leaders, Volsky and Martov, are most vigorous in their demands for the immediate raising of the blockade and peace.

Opposition From Radicals.

Indeed, the only ponderable opposition to the communists today comes from more radical parties—the left social revolutionaries and the anarchists. These parties, in published statements, call the communists and particularly Lenine and Tchitcherin, “the paid bourgeois gendarmes of the entente.” They attack the communists because the communists have encouraged scientists, engineers and industrial experts of the bourgeois class to take important posts under the Soviet government at high pay.

They urge against the employment of bourgeois officers in the army, and against the efforts of the communists to obtain peace. They demand the

immediate massacre of all the bourgeoisie, and an immediate declaration of war on all non-revolutionary governments. They argue that the entente governments should be forced to intervene more deeply in Russia, asserting that such action would surely provoke the proletariat of all European countries to immediate revolution.

Division of Opinion.

Within the Communist party itself there is a distinct division of opinion in regard to foreign policy, but this disagreement has not developed personal hostility or open breach in the ranks of the party. Trotzky, the generals and many theorists believe the “Red” army should go forward everywhere until more vigorous intervention by the Entente is provoked, which they, too, count upon to bring revolution in France and England.

Their attitude is not a little colored by pride in the spirited young army. Lenine, Tchitcherin and the bulk of the Communist party, on the other hand, insist that the essential problem at present is to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and the proletariat of Europe in general from

starvation, and assert that it will benefit the revolution but little to conquer all Europe if the government of the United States replies by starving all Europe. They advocate, therefore, the conciliation of the United States, even at the cost of compromising with many of the principles they hold most dear. And Lenine's prestige in Russia at present is so overwhelming that the Trotzky group is forced reluctantly to follow him.

Lenine's Concessions.

Lenine, indeed, as a practical matter, stands well to the right of the existing political life of Russia. He recognizes the undesirability from the Socialist standpoint, of the compromises he feels compelled to make, but he is ready to make the compromises. Among the more notable concessions he has already made are: The abandonment of his plan to nationalize the land and the adoption of the policy dividing it among the peasants, the establishment of savings banks paying 3 per cent interest, the decision to pay all foreign debts, and the decision to give concessions if that shall prove to be necessary to obtain credit abroad.

In a word, Lenine feels compelled to retreat from his theoretical position all along the line. He is ready to meet the Western governments right away.

Lenine seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet government. He was opposed by Trotzky and the generals, but without much difficulty got the support of the majority of the executive council and the statement of the position of the Soviet government, which was handed to me, was finally adopted unanimously.

My discussion of this proposal with the leaders of the Soviet government was so detailed that I feel sure of my ground in saying that it does not represent the minimum terms of the Soviet government, and that I can point out in detail wherein it may be modified without making it unacceptable to the Soviet government.

For example, the clause under Article 5—"and to their own nationals, who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia"—is certainly not of vital importance. And the clause under Article 4, in regard to admission of citizens of the

Soviet republics of Russia into the allied and associated countries, may certainly be changed in such a way as to reserve all necessary rights to control such immigration to the allied and associated countries, and to confine it to persons who come on legitimate and necessary business, and exclude definitely all possibility of an influx of propagandists.

Conclusions.

The following conclusions are respectfully submitted:

1. No government saving a Socialist government can be set up in Russia except by foreign bayonets, and governments so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenine wing of the Communist party is today as moderate as any Socialist government which can control Russia.

2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis—perhaps a unique opportunity.

3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than was given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the communists in principle, but are supporting them at present, will be able to begin to fight against them.

4. It is therefore respectfully recommended that a proposal following the general lines of the suggestion of the Soviet governments should be made at the earliest possible moment, such changes being made, particularly in Article 4 and Article 5, as will make the proposal acceptable to conservative opinion in the allied and associated countries.

Very respectfully submitted,
(Signed) WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

Text of Russian Soviet Terms Offered Allies

The terms upon which the Soviet of Russia was prepared to make peace with the allies have also been filed with the foreign relations committee by William C. Bullitt. The document was drafted by Bullitt in conference with Lenine and other officials of Russia and represented the conditions which the Soviet was ready to accept.

It was owing to the indifference of President Wilson, Bullitt said in his testimony, that the terms were not accepted, and the offer automatically expired on April 10, 1919, the date fixed by Lenine as the limit of time in which they were to be accepted or rejected.

Bullitt's testimony to the committee was to the effect that Lloyd George and Colonel House were in favor of accepting the terms, but that President Wilson declined to keep an interview to discuss them.

Following is the text of the Russian terms:

The Allied and Associated governments do propose that hostilities shall

cease on all fronts on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland, and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date pending a conference to be held at ———, on ———

The duration of the armistice to be for two weeks, unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the armistice to transfer troops and war material to the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference:

De Facto Government.

1. All existing de facto governments which have been set up in the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to remain in full control of the territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories, until the peoples inhabiting the territories controlled by these de facto governments shall themselves determine to change their government. The Russian Soviet government, the other Soviet governments which have been set up on

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the territory of the former Russian Empire, the allied and associated governments and the other governments which are operating against the Soviet governments, including Finland, Poland, Galacia, Rumania, Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Afghanivan, to agree not to attempt to upset by force the existing *de facto* governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, and the other governments signatory to this agreement.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and Associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will insure that supplies from the Allied and Associated countries are made available on equal terms to wishes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet government of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belonged to the former Russian empire and to Finland, and are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between the territories and the sea, detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be

agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet republic of Russia to have the right of free entry into the allied and associated countries as well as into allied countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland; also the right of sovereignty and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of these countries. . . .

Nationals of the allied and associated countries and of the other countries above named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet republics of Russia; also the right of sojourn and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet republics.

The allied and associated governments and other governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet republics. The Soviet governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all

the allied and associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland.

5. The Soviet government, the other governments which have been set up in the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland, to give a general amnesty to all political opponents, offenders and prisoners. The allied and associated governments to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners, and to their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia. All Russians who have fought in, or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet government, and those opposed to the other governments which have been set up in the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those powers now in Russia, to be given full facilities for repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war in whatever foreign country they may be, likewise all Russian nationals, including the Russian soldiers

and officers abroad and those serving in all foreign armies to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the allied and associated governments and other non-Russian governments to be withdrawn from Russia and military assistance to cease to be given to anti-Soviet governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian empire.

The Soviet governments and the anti-Soviet governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously, and at the same rate, to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement. The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization and also the withdrawal of all troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet government.

7. The allied and associated governments, taking cognizance of the Soviet government of Russia in its note of February 4 in regard to its foreign debts, propose as an integral

part of this agreement that the Soviet governments and the other governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and Finland shall recognize their responsibility for the financial obligations of the former Russian empire, to foreign states parties to this agreement and to the nationals of such states. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia. The Russian gold seized by the Czecho Slovaks in Kazan or taken from Germany by the Allies to be regarded as partial payment of the portion of the debt due from the Soviet republics of Russia..

The date of the armistice to be set at least a week after the date when the allied and associated governments make this proposal.

The Soviet government greatly prefers that the conference should be held in a neutral country and also that either a radio or a direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at its disposal.

The conference to begin not later than a week after the armistice takes effect and the Soviet government

greatly prefers that the period between the date of the armistice and the first meeting of the conference should be only three days, if possible.

The Allied and Associated governments to undertake to see to it that the de facto governments of Germany do not attempt to upset by force the de facto governments of Russia. The de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian empire to undertake not to attempt to upset by force the de facto governments of Germany.

It is considered essential by the Soviet governments that the Allied and Associated governments should see to it that Poland and all neutral countries extend the same rights as the Allied and Associated countries.

The Soviet government of Russia undertakes to accept the foregoing proposal provided it is made not later than 10, 1919.

Efforts to Crush Soviet Russia Reviewed

BY UPTON SINCLAIR.

Week by week the strangling of the first working class government in the history of mankind goes cruelly on. Week by week I tell about it in these columns. Does it make any difference to you, or to anybody else? Sometimes I wonder. Is the realization of this monstrous crime spreading among the people? Is their indignation mounting? Or is the radical movement of America just waving its arms and shouting in a vacuum? I don't know. But my job is to read the news, as it comes, and filter out the poison propaganda from it, and pick out the most significant items of truth, and present them to you, and trust that you have conscience enough and even self-interest enough to make it your business to do your part in opening the eyes of the Great American Henry Dubb.

Early this year the allies decided to meet the Soviet representatives on an island near Constantinople, and discuss the ending of a war which has never been declared by Congress, and

never been acknowledged by anybody except our soldiers slain in battle up under the Arctic Circle. For some reason or other, this conference was abandoned, and all the world tried to guess why. The other day I received a letter from William Allen White, who was one of the American commissioners, and who tells me why. A diplomatic settlement might have been had at any time, he says, but the obstacle was the French; they didn't want a diplomatic settlement, they wanted a military settlement.

And then President Wilson sent his own commission to Russia, consisting of Lincoln Steffens and William C. Bullitt, newspaper correspondent. Why President Wilson sent this commission, if he didn't mean to take any action on their reports, is something which perhaps President Wilson will some day tell us, but up till now he has not told us. Steffens and Bullitt returned to Paris, and if anything was given out about their mission, it was suppressed by our capitalist press. The first thing I saw was a letter from Lincoln Steffens in the London Daily Herald, saying that the peace treaty was an outrage, and the League of Nations a farce, and that both

should be rejected by the American people. That letter was never published anywhere in America, so far as I know. Then came a letter from William C. Bullitt to President Wilson, announcing his resignation from the American Peace Commission. This letter was very brief and dignified. It told President Wilson that he had wasted his great opportunity, and broken the hopes of the world. This letter was published in the New York Nation. It was published in no American capitalist newspaper, so far as I have been able to find.

And then Bullitt came back to America, and the other day he was summoned before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and told his story. A very brief and inadequate account of his testimony was sent out by the Associated Press. Next day, at the request of the Senate, he produced a copy of his confidential report on Russia to President Wilson. The Appeal is publishing this report in full. It is the most important information about Russia that has yet come to the American people. Along with it is an outline of the terms upon which the Russian Soviets agreed to put an end to hostilities with the al-

lies—perfectly just and sensible terms, the rejection of which was simply a crime against mankind.

Here, at last, we have definite official information, from a thoroughly competent and reliable American source; and what did our newspapers do with that information? I haven't received my New York papers yet, so I cannot say, but the Los Angeles Times from which I get my first news of events, published not one line of the Bullitt report, or of the peace terms! Not one line, mind you! Not only that—the Times cut out from its issue of that date, Sunday, September 14, every line of its own Washington dispatches, and of the Associated Press dispatches, giving news about the peace treaty and the Senate discussions of it—in order to avoid having to mention the Bullitt report! Instead, the Times gave two columns of which it will suffice to quote the headlines:

"ROOSEVELT SCORES REDS

"Smash 'Em!' Cries Teddy, Jr., in Talks Telling of Perils in Radicalism."

Next day, Monday, the Times did the very same thing. It killed all its

Washington news, because this Washington news dealt with the Bullitt report. The day after that, the Times began to publish its Washington news again; it was willing to mention Bullitt's name now—because the British Foreign Office had issued a denial of some of Bullitt's statements! I might mention that it was one of those carefully phrased, evasive denials, which cause you to believe lies, without actually telling you lies. I have quoted in these columns a number of instances of this kind of treachery on the part of the gigantic trading corporation which calls itself the British government.

I advise you to cut out this Bullitt report in this issue of the Appeal and save it. Get it read by everybody you know who cares about freedom for mankind, or even about enough to eat for himself and his family. The slave drivers of the world are driving all the world to hell at the present moment, and there is nothing can stop them but you, the people, getting your eyes opened in time.

The evidence is now pouring in in floods—so much of it that I hardly know which to select. We went to war to put down autocracy, to put the

Kaiser and all his kind out of business for good and all; and now we find ourselves at war to put down the first working-class government in history; and who do you think is helping us? The Kaiser and all his kind! I don't mean that for a joke, nor yet a metaphor; I mean it literally and simply, and I take it from the Berlin dispatches of America's leading capitalist newspapers, the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune. It appears that the Allies, in their war on the Bolsheviks, their efforts to keep the people of the Baltic provinces from joining their Russian comrades, have called in the Germans to help them. The Junkers of East Prussia, the very fellows who caused the war, who infected all Germany with their brutality and militarism, are organizing their Prussian peasants, and the peasants of the Baltic provinces, and preparing to drive into Russia to put down the Bolsheviks!

And the same kind of men in France—the militarists and slave-drivers—acquired such hatred of the Bolsheviks that they are forgetting their hatred of the Germans, and joining with the Germans in this new war! Here is Ramsay MacDonald, the British labor

leader, returning from the International Socialist Congress at Lucerne, telling how the Social-Democratic government in the Ukraine was overthrown by a combination of the Germans and the allied reactionaries, who set up a big land owner and aristocrat with a reactionary government. In Czecho-Slovakia there is a parliament partly Socialist, but MacDonald quotes an important personage in the new state as saying that this parliament "has no control over the army and none over the military policy. Many of the officers are French, the supplies come from France, the chief in command is a French reactionary, General Pelle. The Czechs, about whose martial deeds we heard so much a year ago, when they were fighting against the Soviets in Siberia, very soon found that they had been told false stories, and refused to fight any more in consequence. About half of them have died, owing to the way they have been treated, but sixty thousand of them are still there, kept by force, not allowed to go home. It is hoped that somehow or other they can be again induced to go into the field."

And the very same thing is being done to the Russian troops who had

been sent to the Western battle-line in France, and whom the French military leaders have been trying to force into fighting the Bolsheviks. There were thirty thousand of these men, and they helped France to save civilization. But when France went to war against the Soviets, these Russian soldiers mutinied, and some were shot down and the rest of them were shipped to a sort of convict colony in Africa, where they are dying like flies.

And can you imagine that such things are happening, not merely to poor Russian peasants who were dragged to France and forced to fight, but to Russian Socialists who went to France of their own free will, and volunteered to fight the Kaiser! Some twelve years ago I remember meeting in New York a young Russian, Pyeshkov, an adopted son of Maxim Gorky. He earned his living working for Wilshire's Magazine, and I saw a good deal of him. I remember I was particularly impressed by one sentence, which provided me with much food for thought, and which may do the same for you. He said: "Americans do not understand what the intellectual life means."

Well, Pyeshkov visited New York

again, a couple of years ago, now a Lieutenant in the Russian Battalion of the French army. He lectured against the Bolsheviks, and then went back to France, and now comes word that he has been shot in France for "insubordination"! The details are not given, but we can guess. Lieutenant Pyeshkov, who lectured against the Bolsheviks, had his eyes opened and refused to fight against them, and paid with his life!

Also there are three hundred thousand Russian prisoners in Germany; and what is to become of them? These men, you understand, were captured in battle while fighting, some of them with bare hands, against our enemy, the Kaiser; and what have we done with them? We have kept them for ten months, in the same vile prison camps in which the Kaiser had kept them. Recently the Germans refused to feed them any more so we undertook to feed them. Why don't we send them back to Russia, and let them feed themselves? They were most of them captured before the Bolshevik revolution, you understand, and we have had ten months in which to teach them the horrors of the Bolshevik regime, and to make good anti-

Bolsheviks of them. Why now don't we send them back to Russia to overthrow the Bolshevik government? The reason is because we have discovered that they all sympathize with the Bolsheviks, and when they get back to Russia they join the Bolshevik army. So we are allowing agents of Kolchak, ex-admiral of the Tsar, who is now the despot of Siberia, and of Denikin, the Cossack, to "enlist" these men, and they are being shipped around to Black Sea ports to be impressed into the anti-Bolshevik armies!

And here comes an amazing story from England. In England, too, the reactionaries are going straight on with this unauthorized war against the first working-class government in history. At a town called Newmarket, the British government is training twelve hundred Russian officers to make war on the Soviet government, and some of these officers mutinied, as a result of Bolshevik propaganda, and they and some of their wives had to be arrested and locked up!

And, in spite of all this, the Soviets are winning! Great Britain has spent three hundred and fifty million dollars

in this unauthorized war against Russia, but here comes Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, formerly head of the British government's Military Press Bureau, and now military correspondent of the London Times. He is quoted in the New York Times to the extent of a column, declaring that the Soviets are stronger everywhere this fall than they were last spring. The British expedition is getting out of Archangel in embarrassed haste, and General Maurice explains naively that the danger is not so much from the Bolsheviks as from the Russian inhabitants of the provinces, whom the British were engaged in forming into armies to fight the Bolsheviks! Admiral Kolchak has been completely routed in Siberia, and by next spring, says General Maurice, the Soviets will have a sufficient army to rout Denikin in the Ukraine. (Maybe so, General Maurice; what I am praying for is that by next spring the British labor unions will have sufficient power to rout you and your class from the control of all the resources of civilization!)

Also, here is a Washington press dispatch, sent out by the Hearst service. It appears that, in spite of all

our military efforts in Siberia, Bolshevik propaganda has been spreading over that country. Things have got to such a pass now that:

"Army officials today admitted that if the worst came to pass the United States and other Allied forces would have to rely on the Japanese to save them from annihilation. This country would be helpless, because of its inability to transport either troops or munitions in sufficient numbers to protect the American forces. Japan, however, is understood to have already sensed the danger, and she may double or treble her forces in Siberia and maintain an army there indefinitely. (Note that last word!)

"The reports from Siberia, it was learned, deal particularly with the situation in Vladivostok itself. When Kolchak was first compelled to retreat before the Bolsheviks, some dissatisfaction was noticed in Vladivostok. Nothing was thought about it at the time. Later, however, when the commanding officer of the all-Russian government saw his forces in precipitous rout almost, the situation in Vladivostok was given immediate attention.

"Allied commanders awoke to the realization that Bolshevik propaganda

ganda had won over many of the citizens of Vladivostok, and that the partial capitulation of that city's population was small compared with the feelings of many of the inhabitants between Omsk and Vladivostok."

How proud we Americans will feel of ourselves when we come to write the history of these days! How we cooperated with British imperialists and French militarists and Japanese reactionaries to put down the first working-class government in history! In part it is due to our ignorance, our stupidity, our self-conceit; but more especially it is due to the lying, knavish propaganda which our greedy interests had been building up for several decades! Some time ago I quoted in these columns an anecdote, narrated to me by a young American diplomatic official who had travelled through Siberia, and had conversed with a prominent official of the American Railroad Commission. This man, sent to represent America in a desperate emergency, didn't know the difference between Anarchists, Bolsheviks, and Socialists, and when my friend tried to convince him that there was a difference, he said:

"I know what's the matter with you,

young man—the same trouble as with President Wilson. You've got a touch of idealism."

I will close this article with another anecdote which has just come to me from near the other end of the Trans-Siberian railroad; so that you may see that America's official ignoramuses are just as ignorant and just as much occupied in promoting reaction, wherever they may be sent. Some time ago a lady in Denmark wrote me that her brother wished to help in arranging for the publication of "The Profits of Religion" in Danish. I answered that I would be very glad to have his help. And now comes a second letter from this lady:

"I am sorry to tell you that I can expect no more help or interest from my brother. The thing is, that he sent some copies of the Appeal to Reason to an English club in the city of Aarhus, where the American consul happened to learn about them, and warned my brother seriously, for the sake of his business, against having anything to do with you, or with this paper, which he characterized as 'pure syndicalism.' I do not think my brother is to be blamed, as he does not believe in the cause himself, but

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just wanted to do me a service; as he says, he did not know that I had become a 'Bolshevik' like you and your kind, and, of course—I ought to have told him!"

Now imagine! The Appeal to Reason has been America's leading Socialist organ for more than twenty years—and an American consul tells a timid foreigner that it is "pure syndicalism"! Can you beat that?

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Appeal to Reason

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